Oswald Garrison Villard—*Freda Kirchwey*

# THE Nation

*October 8, 1949*

## A Cable from Belgrade

# Stalin's Fatal Error?

## *Tito's Threat to Orthodox Communism*

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

*

# The "Solid West"

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

*

# Chain-Reaction in the U. N.

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

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IN NEXT WEEK'S ISSUE OF

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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# The Shape of Things

WITH THE ISSUE DRAWN SO NARROWLY AND both sides so sharply committed, it was perhaps inevitable that the dispute in steel should go to the ultimate test of the strike. Ironically, it was Philip Murray's major concession to the steel owners that made it impossible for him to yield in the final instance. Having accepted the proposal of President Truman's fact-finding board to forgo a claim to a wage boost for his steelworkers, he was told by management that it would adopt the board's pension and social-security plan only if the employees contributed to the fund. It was out of the question for Murray to tell his followers that after weeks of negotiation and delay he had won them no wage increase and only a limited welfare plan, for which they would have to resign themselves to less take-home pay in the weekly envelope. Such an agreement would be extremely hard for a union leader to impose in any circumstances; with the Communists pressing him inside the C. I. O. and the example of John L. Lewis to egg him on, Murray could not accept and still hold his union together. Thus the strike revolves around the single issue of whether or not workers should contribute toward their own pensions and other benefits; without belittling its importance in the least we suggest that it is not one that is best dealt with by means of a prolonged strike in the country's number-one industry, certainly not at a time when the national economy is hovering between full recovery and a world-shaking slump.

*

IN VIEW OF THE CONCESSIONS ALREADY made by Murray, the steel industry must take a large measure of blame that the pension issue has resulted in a strike. If management representatives had approached the hearings before the Presidential board in a spirit of willingness to reach an understanding, they might have made a case for themselves. Instead, they questioned the board's motives and demonstrated the kind of arrogance that comes from a reliance on stored-up profits to see them through a long stoppage. Their argument now that they are fighting against a dangerous precedent has in any case a hollow ring. Some 5,000,000 employees are at present covered by private pension plans, and of these well over 50 per cent make no contribution to the required fund, including, of course, miners in captive coal pits owned by Big Steel. In the steel industry itself the pensions and retirement bonuses paid to high-salaried executives are models of generosity, with management footing the bill exclusively. With life expectancy advancing steadily, old-age security has become a problem with which labor, like the rest of the community, is increasingly concerned. Unless it is to become an impossibly burdensome charge on the workers themselves, it can be borne only by private industry or the federal government. Undoubtedly government can do the job more equitably, spreading both the benefits and the costs over the entire population. Yet who but the big industrialists have taken the lead in combating every effort to expand the federal social-security system? A change of heart concerning this aspect of "statism" may well be the way out of the impasse in steel as well as a broad solution of the problem. Henry Ford and the United Automobile Workers have already pointed the way. Under the new Ford contract, management pays the full cost, but its contribution is subject to reduction as federal benefits are increased. Should this formula become general, industry will have a stake in expanding the government system, to the advantage of the country as a whole.

*

THE BRITISH LABOR GOVERNMENT, AS WE anticipated last week, easily obtained its vote of confidence from the House of Commons after the three-day devaluation debate. Its only danger lay in the possibility of abstentions by its own followers, and solidarity was assured by two speeches. The first was Churchill's slashing attack on the government and all its works; the second, Aneurin Bevan's equally forceful reply. Churchill's speech was a brilliant but wholly negative performance in which he accused the Cabinet of adopting a series of temporary expedients "instead of proposing fundamental cures for our economic ills," but cast no light on the remedies he would try were he back in Downing Street. Similarly, while denouncing Labor's "lavish" spending, neither Churchill nor any of his lieutenants were prepared to suggest specific economies. Their difficulty, of course, is that their recently adopted party program commits them to full maintenance of the social services and, indeed, to expensive extensions. Thus they are inhibited from talking publicly about the policies in which they really believe, the policies which Tory governments adopted in 1920

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and 1931—cuts in welfare expenditure and deflationary financial measures calculated to maintain unemployment at a high level.

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SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS IN OPENING THE debate made it plain that the government was determined to solve its economic problems without resorting to such measures. At the same time he reiterated the necessity for checking all increases in personal income, whether from wages, salaries, or profits, until the effects of devaluation could be measured. This is hard doctrine for the trade unions when a rise in the cost of living is certain, but they appear ready to accept it, especially since Cripps, by raising the distributed-profits tax, has provided an assurance that dividends will not be increased while real wages decline. The question remains, however, whether the freezing of incomes will prove sufficient to keep the potential inflationary forces in Britain from getting out of hand. Cripps admitted that more had to be done to curb demand in the home market, but it is uncertain that the anti-inflationary measures he indicated—administrative economies and curtailment of investment programs—will prove adequate. It is not easy, however, for a government approaching the end of its term of office to adopt drastic new measures. A general election must be held not later than next summer, and there now seems a strong possibility that Prime Minister Attlee will exercise his privilege of asking the voters for a mandate much sooner than that. Whether or not that would be a wise move politically, public opinion in Britain is veering toward the idea that an early election is desirable so that current uncertainties about the composition and policies of the next administration may be dispelled.

*

THE ANTI-TRUST LAWS, ORIGINALLY ENacted in the teeth of bitter opposition from big business, are now frequently referred to as cornerstones of the American free-enterprise system. These safeguards of competition, the most conservative editors and financial commentators often tell us, have kept American industry virile, saved it from falling into bad monopolistic habits which encourage the growth of socialism. In view of this enthusiasm, it is strange that no action by the Department of Justice is so certain of a bad press as an anti-trust suit launched against a large corporation—for example, the present A & P case. Having successfully completed a criminal prosecution of this giant chain on charges of restraining competition in food manufacture and sales, the Department of Justice has now launched a civil suit against it. The purpose of the action, according to department spokesmen, is "remedial": the government wishes to end the corporation's alleged monopolistic practices by slicing off its food-manufac-

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turing business and splitting up its 6,000 stores into seven independent businesses. A & P has sprung to its own defense in widely published full-page advertisements, and many newspapers have weighed in with editorials which paraphrase its arguments and call upon the government to end its persecution of a blameless enterprise. We now anticipate another series of ads quoting these editorials, followed by further editorial echoes. However, it is not in the newspapers but the courts that the issues involved must and will be tried.

*

ONLY THE DISMAL FACT THAT THE HEARST press goes on giving Westbrook Pegler a wide audience makes his ranting worth even a passing comment. But since his column is read by thousands, it is perhaps worth noting that he has reached a new milestone in his intellectual development. A few weeks ago Pegler wrote that if he were a Southerner he would join the Ku Klux Klan. In other words, Hearst is employing one who but for an accident of geography would belong to an organization which the Attorney General considers as subversive as the Communist Party. Having established his position thus clearly and without loss of employment, Pegler last week turned his attention to Americans for Democratic Action, an organization so opposed to Communist philosophy and tactics that no party member or fellow-traveler has even tried to get in. Of the A. D. A. Pegler wrote: "It is not yet frankly a communistic force. . . . You could put it this way, however: the A. D. A. advocates nothing which a Communist would oppose except the North Atlantic Pact and a strong American war machine." That's all—just the two chief targets of current Communist policy. Pegler is not yet frankly "Napoleon." You could put it this way, however: he writes nothing that scores of happy "Napoleons" wouldn't be proud to put on paper.

# *Half-Time Score*

MEMBERS of the Eighty-first Congress, especially on the Senate side, are weary after more than nine months of contentious law-giving. As Vice-President Barkley says, "there is a longing in their hearts to get back into the hinterland." That longing is understandable for political, as well as for personal, reasons. A great deal has happened in the world since the session convened last January, and nine months is a long stretch for legislators to be away from their constituents.

In view of the discouragement of liberals in the early days of the session, it is something of an admission to say now that the members have earned the rest which they appear likely to take in the immediate future. If they have not fulfilled the highest hopes reposed in them last November by the suddenly jubilant forces of the left, they have certainly made it impossible for the Republicans to get far with their tentative slogan about the "Eighty-worst Congress."

In spite of a slow start, Administration leaders on Capitol Hill can point to impressive achievements. A housing law was passed which includes the long-contested principle that if private industry fails to provide low-cost houses, government must. And while the real-estate lobby was still reeling from that body blow, federal rent controls were extended another fifteen months, though backed by inadequate appropriations. The reciprocal-trade-agreements system was renewed, after an old-fashioned tariff debate, without the hampering restrictions imposed by the Eightieth Congress. The minimum wage was boosted from 40 cents to 75, and the personnel of the conference committee gives promise that the more broadly based Senate bill will prevail over the House version. The Commodity Credit Corporation was enabled to increase grain-storage facilities over the objection of the G. O. P., which seems to have learned little from its 1948 reversals in the farm belt. Thanks to the Eighty-first Congress, TVA will have the steam plant refused by the Eightieth. Another set-back for the power lobby was the decision in favor of publicly owned transmission lines for hydroelecric power. Pay increases for postal and other civil-service employees, long overdue, have been voted by both houses. In the field of international affairs no Congress can be set down as idle that put through extension of the European Recovery Program, the North Atlantic Pact, and appropriations for arming Western Europe, whatever the respective merits of those enactments.

In the few weeks that remain of this session there are several other measures, likely to pass, which should add to an impressive record. The Anderson farm bill, now under consideration in the Senate, would provide price supports ranging from 75 to 90 per cent of parity in place of the present range of 60 to 90. In addition, an effort is being made to include in the bill a trial application of the Brannan plan to two or three commodities. A school-construction bill, introduced by Senator Humphrey, would partially offset failure to pass the Thomas bill, providing federal aid to education, which did get through the Senate only to be snagged in a religious controversy in the House. Broadening of the social-security program is likely to be passed by the lower chamber, but will not be acted on in the Senate this session. Neither is it probable that civil-rights legislation will be seriously considered in the Senate until it reconvenes in January.

What is not generally taken into account in evaluating the work of the present Congress is that it has a full session still to go. In the first six months of 1950 we can expect, besides a showdown fight on civil rights,

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a thorough airing of the Brannan plan, an effort to repeal the Taft-Hartley act, passage of the Thomas education bill, and a prolonged debate on compulsory health insurance. Every one of these is top material for the Congressional campaign. Those that are passed will strengthen the Democrats; those that are beaten will be cited to illustrate the mischievous influence of the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition. At this halfway mark in the life of the Eighty-first Congress it is still the G. O. P. that appears to be on the defensive.

# *Oswald Garrison Villard*

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

APPLIED to Oswald Garrison Villard, the word "liberal" never carried a connotation of mildness or indecision. Instead it called up the image of a crusading reformer, animated by strong convictions and fierce indignations, moving in to battle against the many varieties of social and political sin with which his time was so heavily afflicted. He titled his autobiography "Fighting Years," and it was an accurate summing up of his public career. His liberalism lay in his devotion to freedom; it included little tolerance for political or other views which differed basically from his own. He would never have disputed another man's right to disagree with him about peace or racial equality or free trade; but it was hard to persuade him that such contrary views were sincerely held or honestly advocated. To him they were simply wrong, and to harbor wrong opinions was at least circumstantial evidence of evil motives. I once heard a famous newspaper publisher say plaintively: "I never could persuade Mr. Villard that I really *disbelieved* in woman's suffrage; he always thought there was something corrupt about our opposition to it." This attitude won him a reputation for pugnacity and self-righteousness. But it is to be noted that even those opponents who found him most exasperating always paid tribute to his sincerity and to his immense ability as a journalist.

The New York *Evening Post*, in the years Villard was owner and publisher, was a newspaper of insignificant circulation, by metropolitan standards. It played down or ignored sensational crimes and private scandals; it would have given the Yanks and Dodgers two sticks on the thirty-second page, if it had mentioned them at all. But it reported public affairs soberly, objectively, and at length, and when it set out to expose an unsavory political deal or to advocate a reform, its facts and the judgments it pronounced echoed in every newspaper and government office. Other liberal editors cribbed freely from the *Post*, only wishing they could go as far and write as plainly. But the paper suffered financial losses so great that finally, in 1918, Villard was forced to sell it. So far it has not been replaced, and most students of the press would probably agree that a journal which combined such rigid editorial standards and such outspoken views would have even less chance to succeed today.

After he sold the *Post*, it was chiefly through *The Nation* that Villard expressed his passion for justice and his hope of peace. Here he was able to speak even more freely. Between the end of World War I and the start of the Roosevelt era, when he retired as editor, Villard made this journal the most effective crusading organ of its time. Whatever *The Nation* has accomplished in the years that have followed has taken direction and pattern from his editorship. As one whose stretch of duty has spanned the whole period, I can testify to a continuity of which some of my colleagues may be less aware. Mr. Villard himself might have questioned this, since the disagreements that caused him to stop writing for *The Nation* in 1940 shadowed his feeling for the paper from then on. His break with *The Nation* grew out of his uncompromising pacifism. He attacked our stand on collective security, dating from Japan's invasion of China in the '30's, and our opposition to the arms embargo as it affected Spain and later the Western nations in their resistance to fascist aggression. And finally he opposed our support of military training and aid to the Allies. He firmly believed that even fascism must be overcome by peaceful means. But the spirit of a journal is something apart from its specific beliefs, even if he would have disputed it, and the spirit that made Villard's *Nation* the able defender of Irish freedom, the stout opponent of American imperialism in Latin America, the advocate of diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia, and of a peace based on justice; that led the fight for TVA and against the power of the big utilities, supported the campaign of "Old" Bob La Follette for the Presidency, and called for a new-deal program before F. D. R. was even in the Capitol in Albany—this spirit has remained to inspire new crusades on new issues.

It is in the best tradition of liberal journalism to cut loose from any tradition that would interfere with a bold, independent handling of contemporary affairs. That is what Villard did when he took over direction of *The Nation* and that is what his successors have tried to do since he gave up control. Thus even *The Nation's* differences with him have been part of the legacy he left; a paper once edited by Villard would do him poor honor if it aimed chiefly to agree with him. But its agreements are more fundamental and comprehensive than its differences, and in the years to come this journal will continue to express in its own way the courage and the passion for decency in human relations that comprised the journalistic faith of Oswald Garrison Villard.

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# The Bomb and the U. N.

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

*Lake Success, October 1*

JUST as in Paris last autumn the General Assembly was dominated by the Berlin affair, no matter what subject was under discussion, so the present Assembly is dominated by President Truman's historical announcement that Russia has achieved an atomic explosion. It is not the only analogy between the two meetings. In Paris, for the first time, the small nations served notice of their determination to play an active and independent role in shaping the kind of international society foreseen in the Charter. This time that determination is still stronger because the issue is a bigger one—it is not the danger of an incident arising from the Berlin blockade and the air lift but of the two greatest powers blasting the civilized world to pieces with atom bombs. The smaller nations feel this danger in a very acute form, which has been graphically portrayed by the witty French cartoonist Senep in a drawing, already famous, showing the European countries crouching under a rain of bombs from East and West.

A careful sampling of opinion reveals a firm decision among the lesser powers not to allow the present session to close before it has achieved at least the beginning of an agreement on the atomic bomb. Some of the delegations are more energetic in their efforts than others. I would put at the head of the movement Mexico, Uruguay, and Ecuador among the Latin Americans; among the European countries, the Scandinavians, strengthened by the recent arrival of the able Swedish Foreign Minister, Unden; among the Asiatic powers, India, whose concrete proposal on atomic control won considerable support.

The general debate opening the session ended with strong anti-Russian speeches by Lester B. Pearson, the Canadian Minister of External Affairs, and Mr. Bevin. The Canadian assailed Russia's position on atomic control as "hypocritical and meaningless," while the British Foreign Secretary employed his impressive power of invective in rebutting the Russian accusation that the other powers had blocked effective action for atomic control. Both speeches were warmly applauded by a large section of the Assembly which felt itself avenged for Mr. Vishinsky's previous recriminations. But once these emotions were discharged, the reaction in the corridors was much more moderate, and the general comment was: Vishinsky may have got what he was asking for, but Bevin's outburst won't help matters. About the well-balanced Mr. Pearson the feeling was one of surprise that he had felt impelled to go well beyond Mr. Acheson in his anti-Russian expressions.

A more accurate interpreter of the dominant feeling was the distinguished delegate from Mexico, Luis Padilla Nervo, author of the resolution unanimously passed in the Assembly last fall calling for cooperation among the big powers. Señor Padilla Nervo convincingly pictured the consequences of the first practical application of that resolution. He described the lift in the international atmosphere after the meeting of the four Foreign Ministers in Paris. No matter how modest that achievement had been, it indicated that the big powers could handle any question if they seriously applied themselves to it. He was not only pointing to a successful past experience but indicating a possible way out when this Assembly tackles its most critical item—the control of atomic energy.

This was at least a constructive position, in contrast with the negative one which for two years has kept reappearing in the commentaries of a large part of the American press and has inspired an influential sector of Washington opinion. The negative position is based on a double argument: first, it is useless to try to reconcile Russian and Western policies because they are irreconcilable and therefore an agreement is impossible; second, even if agreement could be achieved it would not be worth a nickle because the Russians have proved that they do not keep their word. The logical consequence of this thesis is for the United States either to drop all the atom bombs it has before the Russians build a stockpile that threatens the security of the world or to produce bombs at a rate of 100 or 50 to 1. But the people with whom I have talked in the United Nations believe that public opinion in America—and the world—would never support a preventive war. And they consider the second solution full of holes if only because, in the opinion of many experts, the Russians will have certain definite advantages if they decide finally to concentrate on the building of bombs.

These are the positive aspects of the Assembly's discussion up to the present, aspects which give tentative support to the opinion expressed by Prime Minister Nehru at the significant moment of leaving for Washington that "the Soviet atomic discovery may help toward prevention of war." The announcement of President Truman may have left the American position unchanged—though I doubt it. But it has revolutionized the approach to the problem of the rest of the world; to refer only to one bit of testimony I might mention General de Gaulle's speech at Bordeaux last week, when he said that the Russian discovery had stripped the Atlantic Pact of half its value.

Nor is it only military considerations that have been weighed in the minds of the statesmen of the smaller nations. The storm stirred up by the monetary devaluation is still gathering force, and a distinct sign of this was President Auriol's demand for an emergency conference of the Western nations. The Snyder-Cripps

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agreement, instead of drawing Europe together to the degree necessary to create a Western military power, has created new difficulties among the Western nations. With a bitterness never expressed since British Labor came to power, Léon Blum has accused Sir Stafford Cripps in *Le Populaire* of having forgotten "the Europe that began to take shape at Strasbourg."

If agreement is to grow at Flushing Meadow, it will come from a new realization that the tactics of the cold war have failed and that deliberate provocations must cease. An example of what should be avoided was the American position on the issue raised by China. What purpose could be served, other than that of irritating Russia, by supporting the Chinese charge of Soviet interference in the civil war it is difficult to see. The discussion created an atmosphere straight out of the famous "Cabinet of Dr. Caligari." We moved among the ghosts of Nationalist China at the very moment that Mao Tse-tung was announcing the new revolutionary government—a government the United States, with the other Western nations, will surely be forced to recognize before many weeks have passed. It is to be hoped that the smaller powers will bring their sense of realism to bear in an effort to stop such maneuvers as this, which have no positive meaning but obstruct the necessary steps toward reconciliation.

# *Stalin's Fatal Error?*

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

*Belgrade, September 29*

I HAD not been in Yugoslavia for five months, and from the moment I crossed the frontier in the Orient express I could feel that the quarrel with Russia had made spectacular progress in that interval. At Ljubljana a couple of Yugoslav soldiers joined me in my compartment, and before long they were telling me that Stalin was a deviationist and has always been one, and had I ever heard of "Lenin's Testament"? Only in Yugoslavia, they said, did one now find pure Marxism-Leninism.

Some loquacious Croats told me that the Zagreb Fair was a great success despite the complete boycott by the Eastern countries—there were large displays of goods by British, American, Italian, and other Western exhibitors, and the Yugoslav stands, they said, were also very impressive. One man with more of a debunking spirit said that all the tractors, automobiles, refrigerators, and so on were just a lot of prototypes which didn't mean a blessed thing. Although we were having a reasonably good lunch in the dining-car, they all agreed that the food situation in the country as a whole was still far from perfect and in many places really miserable. There is a tendency among government spokesmen, including Tito, to blame the Russians for the "sufferings and hardships" of the Yugoslav people today, but the unsatisfactory food situation is due primarily to internal conditions. It is true, however, that the boycott by the Eastern countries has severely hit food distribution, and much else, by contributing to transport difficulties. Yugoslavia uses mainly trucks supplied by UNRRA or bought from Czechoslovakia. The former are now practically worn out, and spare parts for the latter are almost unobtainable.

Belgrade looked the same as usual. Volunteers and other workers had dug up a half mile of Belgrade's main street, using picks and shovels, with hardly a pneumatic drill in evidence. They were remaking pavements which had been badly built by volunteers a couple of years ago. Ration cards appear to be honored in Belgrade, though I gather that supplies are not available regularly in some other cities. While there is a good deal of discontent and fatigue, the country has not broken down economically; if there is not a great deal of improvement in living conditions since last April, neither is there any deterioration.

Day after day *Borba* and other newspapers and magazines work themselves up to a white heat against the Soviet Union. Personal attacks on Stalin are usually, but not always, avoided, in the perhaps naive belief that this will give Uncle Joe a loophole to liquidate one day all those who can be denounced as responsible for the quarrel with Yugoslavia. Apart from that, the breach with the Soviet Union is obviously complete, and one has the impression that, having embarked on the quarrel, the Yugoslav leaders, with Balkan exuberance and recklessness, are immensely enjoying the mud slinging. However, the fact that they are shouting defiance at Russia probably means that they are pretty sure the Red Army will not march.

Russia is charged with aggressive designs and saber-rattling. It is called a colonial exploiter of the Eastern bloc, particularly of Hungary and Rumania. The Russians wanted to treat Yugoslavia in the same way, but Tito wouldn't allow it. The governments of the Eastern states are made up of hirelings of Moscow; Rakosi is a prime example. Furthermore, Russia has not developed

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any Marxist theory concerning the coexistence of several Socialist states, and it is applying to its partners the methods of capitalist exploitation. This attack is accompanied by the claim that Yugoslav leaders alone have elaborated the needed Marxist theory, and that therefore the people's democracies should look to Belgrade for guidance. All this is presented with jovial Yugoslav cocksureness.

The Yugoslav leaders also think they can cause havoc among the Communist parties of Western Europe. They believe that while pro-Titoism, as expressed by Konni Zilliacus, in England, such French newspapers as *Franc Tireur* and *Combat*, and all kinds of "anti-Stalin Communists," may today represent only a certain intellectual attitude, it can become a real political influence. Yugoslav propaganda is a call to revolt to all leftist forces dissatisfied with the Soviet Union. It leaves nothing out. The technique of the Moscow trials used in Budapest, Dimitrov dying of a broken heart if not worse, the Cominform a mere Russian rubber stamp which dissolved after it had served its purpose of outlawing Yugoslavia—everything is brought in. The line is very different from that of July, 1948, when according to Belgrade the scoundrels in the Cominform, like Rakosi, Dimitrov, and Anna Pauker, pulled a fast one on poor unsuspecting Joe Stalin. Crowning all this new propaganda was Tito's speech of September 27, delivered, significantly enough, at Stolice, where in 1941 the foundations were laid for the Partisan movement. "Digging trenches in Hungary and Rumania is saber-rattling, and an attempt to frighten us. We are not the kind of people who can be frightened!"

CORRESPONDENTS for the Western press have no difficulty getting to Belgrade nowadays. They send out banner headlines—"Troop movements in Hungary and Rumania. Soviet tanks roaring down Hungarian plain. Frontier incidents. More frontier incidents. Will Russia invade?" And bang! out comes Tito with a passionate plea for the rights of small nations. This is nicely timed, for the U. N. Assembly is meeting, and the whole world is watching the Yugoslav delegation and Vishinsky. Can Vishinsky stand it, or will he go purple one fine day and tell Djilas, Kardelj, and Bebler that the Red Army has already liberated Belgrade from the fascists?

It is obvious that the Yugoslav leaders must feel pretty safe; they are taking their long-awaited revenge for the "ideological insults" they have been suffering during the past sixteen months. Apparently they feel fairly confident that the Soviet underground in Yugoslavia is of negligible importance, partly because Rankovic's police is every bit as efficient as the N. K. V. D. and partly, perhaps, because there is not much enthusiasm for Russia among the people generally. The mud slinging has been effective in destroying some of the sympathy formerly felt here for Russia. You will find any number of Yugoslavs today who recall their war-time experience of the Red Army in Yugoslavia and say with a superior air, "Good soldiers but uncultured"; or else they rehash one of the usual rape stories.

Current Yugoslav propaganda is attempting in many ways to embarrass the leaders of the people's democracies. Rakosi, it is disclosed, came to Belgrade early in 1948 and complained that the Russians were sucking Hungary dry. Unspecified Rumanians are quoted as saying that the "damned Russians are tearing the skin from our backs." In short, there is deep disloyalty to Russia even among its stooges. Poor Dimitrov, now treated almost as a Yugoslav hero, is reported by *Pijade* as saying after the Russian Central Committee's first blast at the Yugoslavs, "Stand firm, boys."

All this raises the interesting question of why the Russians outlawed Yugoslavia by the Cominform resolution. Was it a disastrous mistake which smashed the unity of the Eastern bloc and had other dire consequences? Or is it true, as the Yugoslavs now admit, that Tito was in fact heading a revolt against Russian "colonialism" and against Russian prohibition of the Balkan federation, an idea cherished by Tito and Dimitrov? Would Russia have found Yugoslavia more manageable if no Cominform resolution had been launched? The arrest of Hebrang and Zujovic was a signal to the Russians that now was the time to act. Certainly the Yugoslavs are today doing their utmost to damage the Russian position in Eastern Europe and the "hireling" governments. What will be the effect in the satellite countries, where of course the official line is to call Tito fascist and "Titler"?

Tito seems convinced that "Titoism" has a real future in all Eastern Europe. But where do we go from here? many Yugoslavs ask with curiosity rather than with anxiety. What will be the reactions inside the Yugoslav Communist Party once the breach with Russia is complete? How large a pro-Russian faction exists inside the party? It does not seem to be large, and for the present it seems impotent. Such being the case, it is not clear what card, short of a most improbable invasion, the Russians have to play. Or are the Russians going to try to isolate Yugoslavia as "fascist" in the expectation that eventually the Yugoslav people will realize that socialism can't be built in one country, especially one of Yugoslavia's size, independently of the Soviet Union? The opinion here is that the Russians will not invade Yugoslavia unless they are completely convinced of the inevitability of war. Yugoslavia for the present has joined the anti-Soviet camp. But the real danger to Russia lies of course in the ideological challenge of Titoism, with its systematic debunking of Stalinism. How will the Russians counteract that? Calling Tito names isn't enough.

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# *A New "Kulturkampf"?*

BY HELEN M. BOOTH

*Hamburg, September 23*

UNDER cover of the fight against communism Rome is on the way to achieving a counter-Reformation in Germany, where the battle between Protestantism and Catholicism has continued long after the issue was clearly decided in England, Holland, and the Scandinavian countries.

The Center Party, as the representative of the church, played the role of political balance-wheel in the old Reichstag. Since there were Catholics among workers and employers alike, it could always claim to stand above class conflict, to represent an idealistic "world view." After the overthrow of the Kaiser it could be made to appear as the party of reconciliation, the more so since the difficulties in East Prussia strengthened the influence of Catholic South Germany. During the Weimar Republic the Center participated in every coalition and repeatedly provided the Chancellor.

In the Nazi period the church found its great opportunity. The highest leaders of National Socialism came not from Prussia but from the Catholic sections of the country. The Papal Emissary in Berlin, Cardinal Pacelli, the present Pope, seized the opportunity to engineer a Concordat with von Papen, then Hitler's Foreign Minister, as early as September, 1933. Privileges which the church had enjoyed only in the Catholic *Länder* were now granted to it in the Protestant and confirmed throughout the Reich. In return, Hitler received the assurance that the church would not interfere in politics. No barbarity of the Nazis moved the Pope to excommunication.

A central issue in Germany today is the renewal of this Concordat, which the church claims is still valid. Now as in 1918 the church finds itself in a favorable position. Quite apart from its current aggrandizement as the ally of the Western powers in the struggle with Russia, it is aided by the internal situation. With the influx of German refugees from Polish territories and the return of other *Volksdeutsche*, for the most part to western Germany, the old geographical division into a Protestant north and Catholic south is disappearing. All sections are losing their historical religious homogeneity.

These refugees from the east present one of the major social problems of post-war Germany. Resented and exploited by the native inhabitants, they have nevertheless become an important factor in political and religious contests. Their vote has been sought by all parties, and both Evangelicals and Catholics have expanded their activities in order to reach them. Here in Hamburg, for instance, where formerly scarcely a Catholic was to be found, a Catholic church is now being built and a bishop has been appointed. Whereas Germany was roughly two-thirds Protestant before the collapse, the present West German state has an approximately equal number of Protestants and Catholics. The church has thus been able to bring strong pressure, first, on the drafters of the Bonn constitution, then on the voting, now on the selection of Adenauer's Cabinet.

IN THE autumn of 1948 Cardinal Frings joined the Christian Democratic Union (C. D. U.) in direct violation of the above-mentioned Concordat. The very choice of Bonn in the archdiocese of Cologne, "within the shadow of the cathedral," is generally accepted as an acknowledgment of Catholic influence. During the drafting of the constitution the Diocesan Committee of Cologne renewed the church's demands for religious instruction as an integral part of the school curriculum and threatened a renewed *Kulturkampf* if they were not met. "We trust your watchfulness, steadfastness, and experience," wrote the Pope to the German cardinals.

But despite the efforts of the German cardinals, the Catholic bloc in the drafting body at Bonn failed to enforce its will. A compromise was voted which follows the United Nations declaration on parental rights and leaves to the individual *Länder* the decision as to religious instruction in the schools—a "federalist" solution which theoretically should please the so-called federalist Christian parties. The Evangelical church declared itself content with this compromise, but the Catholic church at once raised it to a central issue, diverting thought and interest from the basic economic conflicts which face the new state.

The Catholic clergy all over Germany were immediately alerted. Cardinal Faulhaber demanded that the Bavarian government reject the Bonn constitution. Cardinal Frings resigned from the C. D. U., ostensibly in belated conformity with the Concordat, but pursued his goal even more relentlessly from the cathedral. Catholics, he indicated, would of course elect only such representatives to the Bundestag as were ready to advocate "Christian laws." The Bishop of Fulda at once announced that the church would intercede actively in

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the elections in order to continue the battle for "religious freedom." The Archbishop of Trier in a pastoral letter appealed to the consciences of non-voters and ordered the minor clergy to see that their flock went to the polls in the August elections despite the harvesting.

The Jesuit fathers were brought in to combat the frequently voiced criticism that the church is more interested in "cultural" control than in social and economic problems, and there was much talk on such topics as the refugees, unmarried women, and "the relations of owners and workers in basic industry." A Catholic Workers' Movement of West Germany was organized, separate from the Christian trade unions, and also a Union of Catholic Employers, which Cardinal Frings assured the world would try to realize the social reforms urged by the Pope.

As the election approached, the campaign was carried to every town and village. The C. D. U. appealed to the clergy of both confessions for support, claiming to be the sole "Christian" party. This appeal was followed by a pastoral letter, read from all Catholic pulpits at the end of July, in which the church declared war not only on the Communists but also on the Socialists and liberals (F. D. P.), who it asserted had shown no understanding of "essential Christian demands" at Bonn. Can a believing Christian, asked the bishops, give his vote to a candidate who "in decisive educational questions places the power of the state above freedom of conscience?"

The Social Democrats (S. P. D.) of course returned the fire, calling the church a fifth occupation power and its totalitarianism as bad as the Russian. They are convinced that but for the activity of the Catholic church they might have won the election. A breakdown of the vote in the city of Cologne indicates clearly that the C. D. U. owed its victory to the women, most fertile soil for clerical propaganda. In this Catholic stronghold the S. P. D. got 97,564 votes but no seat, as against 127,375 votes and three seats for the C. D. U. Of the C. D. U. majority, however, only 241 were male votes, while 29,570 were female votes. In one voting district the men alone would have given the seat to the S. P. D. with 15,150 votes as against 14,518 for the C. D. U. The women's vote turned the scales with 37,600 for the C. D. U. as against 29,900 for the S. P. D. According to S. P. D. statisticians, this situation was repeated throughout the country.

The Protestant churches—Evangelical, Unitarian, and Reformed—have engaged in no counter-activity. Their position in this struggle is weak, since they are by their very nature separate and individualist, with no centralized organization. The Evangelical church is so convinced that its great enemy is "materialism" that it has willingly joined hands with the Catholic church in what it would like to feel is a common struggle for "spiritual values." Its officials have naively hoped that with priest and pastor sharing their problems on a village level some higher reconciliation might be possible. But there has been proselytizing by Catholics among Evangelicals, and the Jesuits have been waging active war. In consequence, an association has been formed to protect the Protestant minorities in Catholic districts.

EVANGELICAL leaders consider that the C in the name of the C. D. U. stands virtually for Catholic. Privately they admit to fear of the overwhelming Catholic influence in the party. They know that immediately after the election Cardinal Frings's assistant, Dr. Boehler, was consulted by Dr. Adenauer on the choice of the Cabinet. They recognize that the nomination of Heuss for President was a sop to them and expect Catholics to predominate in the Cabinet. The more serious among them anticipate a new *Kulturkampf*, but for the moment they are too paralyzed by the fear of Moscow to protect themselves against Rome.

A small group within the Catholic church opposes its political pretensions on the ground that they are endangering its spiritual mission. This position is most forcefully presented by Maria Sevenich, a devout Catholic member of the S. P. D. who has eloquently attacked the church's record in Spain, Italy, and Germany. The greatest threat to the success of the church's political ambitions, however, lies in the conflicts within the C. D. U. coalition government. Much depends on whether Adenauer can marshal his forces to obtain a renewal of the Concordat.

The separatist movement in Bavaria remains an embarrassment for the church. In 1948 *Il Quotidiano* denied that the Holy See wanted to build a separate Catholic state in southern Germany and declared emphatically that the Vatican looked forward to the unification of Germany. The secession of Bavaria would of course mean the loss of Catholic weight in the German scales. It is also suspected in some quarters that despite its pious protestations Rome would regret the reunion of the Russian zone with western Germany, since the eastern *Länder* are predominantly Protestant and the Catholic advantage in the present diminished Germany would be upset.

On September 4 the Pope addressed the German Catholic Workers' Association, which forthwith issued a call for a united Europe under one government and one constitution. Simultaneously at Strasbourg Paul Devinat, representing the far right of the coalition government in France, virtually assured the Germans they would be admitted to the Council of Europe. If the church accomplishes its aims in Germany, then Italy, France, Belgium, and Germany will be under liberal-clerical regimes; Spain and Portugal will soon be included, and peace will reign in a united Europe—a new *Pax Romana.*

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# *The "Solid West"*

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

*Portland, Oregon, October 2*

DEMOCRATS who met in San Francisco on breezy Nob Hill last week for their Western regional conference talked about the "solid West" which they believe has already supplanted the South as the party's strongest bastion in the country. "What's more," boasted an enthusiastic and statuesque young woman delegate from Montana, "the solid West will be based on policy and program, not on blind party regularity."

Behind this ebullience lies the fact that since the start of the New Deal seventeen years ago the eleven Western states have been as steadfast a source of Democratic strength as the South. Last November President Truman lost four Southern states, but only one Western state. In the past five national elections there have been only five instances of a Western state failing the Democratic standard-bearers. Colorado supported Willkie in 1940, Colorado and Wyoming slid into the Republican column in 1944, Oregon went narrowly for Dewey in 1948. Furthermore, fourteen of the twenty-two Senate seats of a region which old-time Republican politicians like Reed Smoot and Tasker Oddie regarded as their private preserve are now held by the Democrats.

The San Francisco conference was devoted almost exclusively to reiteration of the policies which apparently have wrought this political transformation. Public power and sustained-yield forestry were strongly supported, as were a Missouri Valley and a Columbia Valley Authority. The Army Engineers were lambasted as tools of the private utilities. The 160-acre limitation on irrigated holdings was defended. Labor assailed the Taft-Hartley law; Charley Brannan explained his farm plan; Leon Keyserling talked of the coast's prodigious 40 per cent population increase and warned that the Murray economic-expansion act might be needed to keep the newcomers at productive work. Whenever there was a conflict between liberals and party stand-patters, the liberals came out ahead.

Jimmy Roosevelt received ten times the applause accorded his potential gubernatorial rival, George Luckey. The audience stood and cheered Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas as speakers criticized Sheridan Downey, her prospective adversary in California's senatorial race, for not fighting for a Central Valley steam plant. Secretary of Commerce Sawyer, who was so lukewarm about the President last October, came and went practically in obscurity, but delegates tagged devotedly after Secretary of Agriculture Brannan.

National Chairman Bill Boyle pointedly told the press that the national committee will stay out of the 1950 gubernatorial primaries in California. This was bad news for Luckey, whose only claim to support has been that he stood by Truman when Jimmy Roosevelt was making up to Eisenhower. With the White House thus taken out of the battle, Roosevelt probably will swamp Luckey, provided Luckey dares to run, which is by no means certain. Boyle's intervention was almost invariably on the liberal side.

The meeting's theme was "Land, Water, and Jobs," and the attendance showed how extensive an acreage the Democratic tent now covers. On the uncomfortable camp chairs in the Fairmont Hotel sat single-taxers, Populists, Townsendites, greenbackers, technocrats, and veterans of the first crusade for the initiative and referendum. These warriors of the political battles of another generation wore out leathery hands applauding when some speaker paid tribute to George Norris or the elder La Follette. But most of the participants were young. Co-eds from Berkeley walked up and down the aisles handing out excerpts from the *Congressional Record* about CVA and the Central Valley project. And many of the two thousand local people who jammed a $6-a-plate buffet supper to hear Boyle and Jimmy Roosevelt were on the fringe of the upper-income brackets if not comfortably within them. Also in the crowd were a few rural-electrification enthusiasts from the Northwest backwoods who had never before been to San Francisco. "You wouldn't believe folks as different as these could all vote for the same candidate," commented a journalist.

Of course there were some sour episodes. Representative Hugh B. Mitchell of Seattle, just back from a flight to Juneau, made a stirring plea for Alaskan and Hawaiian statehood, thus confronting the conference with the embarrassing fact that a Democratic Congress has allowed statehood bills to stagnate in committee. Vice-President Barkley was handed the dreariest manuscript ever inflicted on that master of political oratory and for twenty minutes had to recite the number of tons of phosphate that can be developed by 331,000,000,000 kilowatt-hours of electricity.

Secretary of the Interior Krug, head of the department most intimately identified with the West, proved a disappointment. He was rarely in the meeting rooms or corridors and left to his assistants all the spade work on power, the CVA, reclamation, and grazing restric-

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*RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, a Portland journalist, was elected to the Oregon Senate last fall.*

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tions. There were rumors that at last Krug is to be replaced by Under Secretary Oscar L. Chapman of Denver, who in '40, '44, and '48 prepared the highly successful Presidential campaigns in the Western states.

The speakers showed little originality; nor was it demanded. Most Western speeches for the past seventeen years have been variations of Roosevelt's first address promising Bonneville and Grand Coulee. Novelty was provided, however, by the presence of Joe Keenan of the A. F. of L. and Jack Kroll of the C. I. O. as key speakers. In the past Western Democrats have hesitated to get too close to the trade unions for fear of alienating the farmers. On this occasion the Brannan plan was emphasized as a possible bond between farmers and workers.

Although the Democrats have been successful in the West in all recent national elections, the party has often failed lamentably in state and local contests; the key Western states are ruled by Republican governors. One of the reasons advanced at San Francisco to explain the sharply contrasting results was that many Westerners are new to the region. Of Oregon's 1,626,000 residents, 547,000 were not living in the state nine years ago. These newcomers go to the polls to elect a President of the United States, but local names and issues have not acquired meaning for them. That is why Oregon and Washington have reported 37 per cent turnouts for off-year elections, compared with 49 per cent in New York and 58 per cent in Illinois. Next year the recent arrivals will have to go to the polls if a Roosevelt is to be governor of California, if Washington is to elect Democratic Congressmen from districts which are overwhelmingly Democratic in Presidential years, and if Oregon is to thrust a Democrat into the West's only all-Republican Congressional delegation. The Western states still give a majority of their seats in the House to the Republicans. The G. O. P. has twenty-five Western Congressmen, the Democrats twenty-two.

If the fervor aroused at the conference can be maintained and communicated to the voters, the Democrats think their Presidential successes may be duplicated on a local level. Next year is a census year. After 1950 the West may get a dozen new Congressional districts and thus a dozen more Electoral College votes. Then the winning of the West will be even more worth while.

# *White Skin in Dark Continent*

BY R. K. COPE

*Cape Town, South Africa*

WHEN a tenth of the population of South Africa went to the polls a year ago and sent Field Marshal Smuts into political limbo for the second time, attempts to predict what would happen under his successor, Dr. D. F. Malan, were largely guesswork. Investors, British and American, wondered whether their holdings in South Africa would be safe. Progressives, branding Malan and his lieutenants as pale imitations of the Nazis, asked how soon full-blooded totalitarianism would be clamped on the country. British imperialists, contemplating Africa as the last outpost of empire, speculated on how Malan racist theories would affect the hundred million Negroes and Bantu of the continent. Strategists worried about whether the change would upset world military and naval plans.

It turns out that the difference is one of tempo rather than of course or intention. There are many things the Afrikaner Nationalist government of Malan would like to do but cannot because it is too weak. Its aim is to transform the so-called Afrikaner *Volk* (nation) from a community of primitive farmers, share-croppers, and town workers to a modernized industrial society and to thrust back the colored and black majority to voiceless serfdom. The English-speaking inhabitants, whom the Afrikaners slightly outnumber, will be kept quiet until their financial power can be wrested from them.

One section of the Afrikaners follows Smuts and is willing to cooperate with English, Jewish, and any other groups to uphold the wealth and privileges of the white man against the brown and the black. A larger section puts its faith in Doctor of Divinity Malan. Various fragments parade with shirts, symbols, and flags in a parody of European fascist movements. Malan's followers want a republic in which they, a twentieth of the population, would be dictators for a thousand years—one *Volk*, one land, one language. The Nationalist Party is the political tool by which this is to be achieved. But the party is controlled by the leaders of the Broederbond (League of Brothers), a secret society with the trappings of a musical-comedy Ruritanian kingdom. The Broederbond has a cult of "heroism" and martyrdom much like that which inspired the Munich beer-hall putsch; this cult dates back to 1919, when South African soldiers returning from the First World War made anti-war Nationalists run like hares through the streets of Johannesburg.

The reality behind the Nationalist movement is the rise of a new class in the ranks of the Afrikaners—a

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class with growing vested interests in industry, finance, commerce, and land. Except on the land these interests are puny in comparison with British vested interests, but they are favored by present methods of capital accumulation. Patriotic, racial, and sentimental appeals are used to collect money. Hundreds of thousands of poor people have put money in a few daring hands. Small Afrikaner banks, insurance, and investment companies are gathering the pickings which British, Dutch, or American interests are content to leave them. And the new Afrikaner executives and financiers, having acquired the taste, are ambitious. They aim to replace English with Afrikaans as the language of finance, trade, and industry in South Africa. Afrikaner business men intend eventually to supplant their powerful rivals.

*Prime Minister Malan*

At present the Nationalists are still so far from this goal that forming a junior partnership with American capital as a counter-weight to British economic supremacy is considered a promising tactic. State power can also be used to further financial encroachment and capital accumulation. A period of office without power from 1924 to 1933 taught the Nationalists a lesson. Financial interests ousted them from the government when they could not deliver the goods. It must not happen again.

Race hatred, the basis of Nationalist ideology, is part of the same economic design. By racial agitation against the Indians the astute and well-organized Indian merchants will be forced into ruin. Their heirs in the country towns and to some extent in the larger cities will be Afrikaner petty traders financed by the patriotic funds. The Indians can be flagrantly exploited because they are voteless and without rights. The Jews, on the other hand, have influence, ability, and votes. The Nationalists are to the last man virulent anti-Semites, but they are too weak at this stage to attack the Jews openly.

Race antagonism toward the colored people of the Cape, who number about three-quarters of a million, has a political as well as an economic motive. Colored men—but not women—still have the limited vote first given them a hundred years ago. In a handful of parliamentary districts they hold the balance of power, and they vote heavily against Malan in self-defense. Their vote must therefore go. When it is gone, the way will be opened to a hundred new restrictions which will keep the colored man permanently in the cheap-labor class from which he is energetically trying to advance.

The full-blooded Bantu must also be further restricted. At present he has a negligible indirect representation in Parliament. This must go. He is represented on a few elective bodies with advisory functions. These are being either abolished or made futile. Even the school meals for undernourished Bantu children are to be stopped, as are the few state scholarships for Bantu university students. The black man must be made to know that all roads to advancement are blocked. He is the son of Ham, the Ishmaelite ordained by a Calvinist God to be the servant of the Christian Afrikaner.

To carry out this order Malan's government plans a national registration in which every person must disclose the race and color of his four grandparents. One-quarter of "colored blood" will condemn any South African to permanent inferiority. And a bill goes before the legislature this year making the marriage of a European with a non-European a crime. Every South African knows interracial liaisons take place frequently. The law will merely place a higher premium on immorality.

The Nationalist education program is in the planning stage. Instruction will be principally in one language—Afrikaans. Science must conform to the Book of Genesis. Afrikaner children are to be indoctrinated as rulers; blacks are to be taught submission and useful occupations. The English section of the population will be tolerated if it becomes "nationally minded."

Malan and his Nationalists do not monopolize the policy of restricting the colored and Bantu majority. Their discrimination is simply more intense, more hysterical. Every argument for justice to the underprivileged, or for common prudence, is branded as communism or liberalism—the terms are usually equated.

Most Afrikaners are poor share-croppers and backward farmers. Their daughters drift into sweated labor in the cities. The great majority of their young men are laborers, artisans, and low-grade clerks. A minority can rise above this level. The minority understand what they are doing, and the rest support them blindly—blinded by color prejudice.

There is so much that is open and hospitable and vigorous about Afrikaner life that a chance visitor can easily overlook its darker side. The people naively worship culture and progress. They listen earnestly to symphonic music and classical plays; they read and encourage their poets. They have a genuine love for their own robust language. Good Afrikaner painters and composers have earned reputations far beyond their own country.

There are enlightened Afrikaners who dispute the myth that a racial minority can remain pure and hold down permanently a great population, stirring under the influence of twentieth-century ideas and material change. But Afrikaners as a rule hate all progress except their own. They regard the United States civil-rights program for Negroes as a betrayal, infectious and dangerous.

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# EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

## Red Light for Farmers

THE report of the Commodity Credit Corporation for the year ending June 30 ought to stir Congress into taking quick action on a new farm program, for it shows that the present one is in urgent need of revision. Under the present law, which is designed to hold prices of basic farm crops at 90 per cent of "parity" and provide support at varying levels for other products, the corporation has operated on a larger scale than in any year since 1933. Altogether it has laid out in loans, purchases, and commitments $3,449,000,000 and has incurred an estimated loss of $599,000,000. Of this sum $345,000,000 represents a fall in the value of stocks held under loan or owned outright by the corporation, together with interest charges and overhead expenses. Actual cash losses, some four-fifths of which were due to the resale of potatoes for feed and fertilizer, totaled $245,000,000.

Expenditure on this scale would be understandable and justifiable if, as in 1933, agriculture were unduly depressed. Considering, however, that last year farmers as a group enjoyed great prosperity, even if their aggregate income was a little below its post-war peak, we may well wonder about the size of the taxpayers' farm bill under more difficult conditions.

The outlook for the next few years is not altogether reassuring. Exports of farm products are declining as post-war shortages in Europe and Asia are overcome. Moreover, widespread currency devaluation is bound to exert deflationary pressure on the prices of those crops which enter largely into world trade—cotton, wheat, corn, and rice, for example. Consequently we may expect prices of many more farm products to fall to a level where government support-loans or purchases become mandatory. Still larger operations by the Commodity Credit Corporation, accompanied by still bigger losses, are therefore in prospect.

According to a letter sent by the Department of Agriculture to Senator Elmer Thomas, chairman of the Senate Agricultural Committee, the egg-buying program alone is likely to cost $100,000,000 this year and upward of $150,000,000 the next unless Congress acts to relieve the department of its obligation to hold egg prices at 90 per cent of their parity level. So far during 1949 the corporation has bought some two billion eggs, or about 5 per cent of all those laid. To avert danger of spoilage these eggs are being converted to powder which is stored in various government warehouses, including a vast Kansas limestone cavern which provides natural cold storage. Unfortunately, the demand for dried eggs is very limited. Normal use by the domestic food industries, according to the *Wall Street Journal*, adds up to only seven million pounds, or one-ninth of present government holdings. And now that European poultry flocks are being restored, export possibilities are poor, for nutritious as a dried-egg omelette may be, it has, as most veterans can testify, very little appeal to the taste buds. Possibly housewives here and abroad would use more dried eggs for cooking if they became cheap enough, but that would tend to reduce the demand for fresh eggs and so force still more of the hens' output into the hands of the CCC. Nor can this vicious circle be broken by selling them at a cut rate for use as a protein addition to poultry feed: that would only serve to stimulate production.

I have dwelt on this egg situation because it threatens to become the *reductio ad absurdum* of present farm legislation. Here we have a case of a price floor so high that it both discourages consumption and encourages over-production, creating a permanent gap between supply and demand that can only be bridged by the futile accumulation of an unwanted commodity. Consumption is checked because the housewife who is asked to pay—in New York City—upward of 90 cents a dozen for Grade A eggs, about twice the pre-war price, decides to buy less; output rises because the government is forced by law to bid for eggs at a price pitched too far above average costs of production. Unless price support can be placed on a far more flexible basis, this situation seems likely to be duplicated in the case of an increasing number of other commodities.

The several farm plans now before Congress were summarized in *The Nation* of September 17, and there is no need for me to discuss them in detail. Even the best of them—the Hope-Aiken act—would, I think, leave price supports at levels which would tend to promote the steady accumulation by government agencies of surplus stocks. One difficulty is that they all rely on the parity formula used to compute a "just price" for each farm product, which is supposed to enable it to hold its relative purchasing power in terms of goods the farmer buys. But this formula fails to take into account the technological revolution in agriculture during the last twenty years, which has sharply reduced average unit costs of many farm commodities. Consequently, support prices fixed at a high percentage of parity afford a large enough margin of profit to overstimulate production. And so, to grow crops for which there is no market at the protected price, we maintain in cultivation land which from the conservation point of view ought to be under grass. Of course when supply threatens to overwhelm demand, the Secretary of Agriculture may make further support of prices conditional on the acceptance of acreage allotments. But all too often attempts to curtail production by this method have been defeated by the ingenuity of farmers, who by cultivating their best fields more intensively contrive to grow larger crops on a restricted acreage.

Looking back over the record since 1933, we may well decide that with all its mistakes and failures the farm policy inaugurated by the New Deal has been justified by results. It has served to rehabilitate farming as an industry and way of life and to redress the economic balance between town and country. But now the balance is tilting the other way, and the problem needs to be thought out anew with more consideration for consumers and taxpayers. Otherwise, as many farmers are beginning to realize, the combination of high food prices and expensively financed surpluses will eventually place agriculture in an extremely vulnerable political position.

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# BOOKS and the ARTS

## *Essays and Asides*

## A LITTLE FISHY FRIEND

BY JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

JUST a hundred years ago Henry David Thoreau published, at his own expense, his first book, "A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers." Perhaps nothing is better known about it today than the fact that it sold less than three hundred copies and that when the remainder were returned to the author he made the wry remark: "I now have a library of nearly nine hundred volumes, over seven hundred of which I wrote myself."

"Walden," the only other book he published during his lifetime, made its way slowly, for it was not reprinted until after his death. By now, however, it has pretty well overshadowed its predecessor and has no doubt had ten times as many readers. That is partly because it is a more unified and more powerful book, partly because it makes so much more explicit the criticism of society which today interests many more readers than that celebration of the "life in nature" which is the main theme of "A Week."

Yet if Thoreau inspired Gandhi and certain of the founders of the British Labor Party he was also unmistakably the father of the whole modern school of "nature writers." To put it bluntly and simply, there was not, before his time, a single writer in the English language so much "like him" as are scores since—from John Muir and John Burroughs down to the Peatties, Chapmans, Ecksteins, Teales, and others of our own day. I have done a good deal of reading in the earlier naturalists and writers about nature from Isaac Walton and Gilbert White on, including such early describers of the American scene as William Byrd and the two Bartrams. Many might be called "nature lovers," and perhaps there is no attitude of Thoreau's which is not to some extent anticipated in some brief passage. But there is a central emphasis in Thoreau's work which is also central in many of his successors and in none of those who came before.

What is this novel emphasis? It is not merely the desire to escape from the tribulations of social life into the peace of solitude, for that is at least as old as the Roman Empire. It is not the sense of "a Being whose dwelling is the light of setting suns," for Wordsworth had made that a commonplace theme. Neither is it merely an interest in the ways of animals, which is older than Aristotle, nor even a sense of wonder in their presence. A contemporary of St. Augustine long ago proclaimed the glory of God by asserting: "He created in heaven the angels and in the earth the worms; nor was he superior in the one case or inferior in the other. If no hand but His could create the angels, neither could any other create the worms."

Perhaps the secret of Thoreau's originality is simply that no man before him had ever taken quite so literally the term "fellow-creatures." When he spoke of having "a little fishy friend in the pond," when he held a conversation with a woodchuck or hoped that his games had taught a fox something, he was expressing in his own humorous way a sense of fellowship in some sense novel. In so far as it was merely an outpouring of love, the banal analogy is, of course, St. Francis. But there is an intellectual difference of some importance. Thoreau could feel as he did, not so much because he was tender toward inferior creatures as because he did not think of them as inferior, because he had none of that sense of superiority or even of separateness which is the inevitable result of any philosophy or any religion which attributes to man any qualitative uniqueness and inevitably suggests that all other creatures exist primarily for him. Here, if you like, is the full antithesis of teleology, of the assumption that the meaning, obvious or hidden, of every item in the universe is some known or unknown usefulness to man.

Of course Thoreau did not invent the intellectual foundations which made possible an attitude like his. Though he was doubtless only half aware of how these foundations had been laid and totally ignorant of many of those to whom he owed indirect debts, the revolution against the homocentric had been going on for at least two centuries. In his Commencement oration Thoreau had proclaimed: "This curious world which we inhabit is more wonderful than it is convenient, more beautiful than it is useful; it is more to be admired and enjoyed than used." And dangerously paradoxical as this must have sounded to both the orthodox religionists and the proponents of a Poor Richard philosophy, he was only putting into epigrammatic form a thought which certain liberal theologians of the seventeenth century had already expressed when they began to question the assumption that God had made the world exclusively for man's profit. Toward the end of that same century John Ray, in his very popular "Wisdom of God's Creation," had expressed the opinion that though doubtless many creatures were intended to serve men's needs, God had wished them to live for their own sakes as well as for man's. A generation later Alexander Pope had ridiculed those who asked what every creature "was good for" and reminded them that "the fur which warms a monarch warmed a bear."

But if Thoreau was not the first who saw that all living creatures were, as a matter of simple fact, in the relationship of fellow-creatures and needed no Darwin or Huxley to convince him that this was so, he was, nevertheless, original in two respects. In the first place, he perhaps realized more completely than anyone before him ever had how this fact could be joyously accepted and made the basis of a happy sense that one is part of

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a very large and very inclusive enterprise.

Even more certainly he was the first to perceive how this attitude could be made to serve as the unifying principle of a new kind of descriptive account of natural phenomena and of man's relation to them. His was not the objective account of the scientist, not Wordsworth's quest for the Anglican God manifesting Himself in the sunset, not Ruskin's search for the materials for a picture. It was an account dominated by the sense—which had never actually dominated any "nature writing" before his—that to describe nature is to describe something of which man is merely, but also joyously, a part. And that is the sense which dominates not only his but also a large part of the "nature writing" since his time. Perhaps it is not too much of an exaggeration to say that there is a certain "feeling for nature" which is just a century old this year. While some of Thoreau's provincial contemporaries were trying to become citizens of the world he became the first citizen of the universe.

## LIBERALS AND THE MIXED ECONOMY

*STRATEGY FOR LIBERALS.* By Irwin Ross. Harper and Bros. $3.

WHETHER Irwin Ross's conclusions are right or not, he has done a service in raising long-range issues of strategy for those Americans, roughly called liberals, who occupy a position in politics often defined as a little "left of center." The progressive forces in the United States have habitually been engaged in fighting a guerrilla warfare for immediate advances without thinking much about their main line of march or their means of reaching major goals. Our political literature, extensive though it is, has been poor in first-rate attempts to map the country through which we are making our way and to prepare for what is behind the next range of hills.

Ross rejects both a dominant private enterprise as we know it and a tyrannous state socialism. The middle way which he seeks he calls a "mixed economy"—a pluralistic order consisting partly of such private enterprise as naturally remains competitive, partly of governmental or cooperative enterprise in industries of the sort that tend to become monopolistic, and partly of a welfare state, approximating full employment by the appropriate fiscal and banking measures. Sweden, New Zealand, and Britain under the Labor government seem to be his models.

Anywhere else in the world such a state would be called democratic socialism; wherever it has been effectuated it has been supported and in large part governed by Socialist parties. One could make a good case for the contention that this country already has a mixed economy of a sort, and always has had much more of a mixture than either the propagandists or the doctrinaire opponents of private business admit. Many of the American program makers whom Ross cites would go along with him up to the point of socializing basic manufacturing industries, a measure which they are not yet ready to indorse. Yet they have as much right as he to be regarded as adherents of a mixed economy. Terms, however, are unimportant. We may say that Ross wants to stiffen his dough with more public ownership than they do; indeed, he regards that proposal as so essential that without it there would be little occasion for most of his criticism of the liberal and labor movements or his warnings of their future difficulties.

We shall not, he believes, be able to maintain progress or stave off depression by the measures generally recommended for those purposes unless we cope successfully with the private monopoly of economic power. Big business must cooperate with a full-employment program if the program is to be successful; yet that is just what it will not do. He regards this obduracy not as folly springing from lack of information, which can be overcome by education or persuasion, but as well-grounded self-interest. The key beneficiaries of the present order stand to gain by the existence of a scarcity of goods and a surplus of labor; they will also fight to the death any further encroachment by government on their economic power. Failure of organizations like Americans for Democratic Action or labor political agencies to understand this constitutes, he believes, a fatal weakness. They should accept the necessity, work night and day to arouse people to it, and be prepared for stiff resistance in achieving the goal.

It has, he contends, been a fatal mistake of democratic labor parties to underestimate how far the right will go in opposing reforms by ballot; he retells the old stories of the Weimar Republic, Austria, Spain, pre-war France. All this has a familiar ring to those who were politically conscious in the 1930's; it is the exact line of argument that was then employed to convert many to communism and the inevitability of revolution. Ross of course is not a Communist and does not want a "dictatorship of the proletariat," but the fact that he retraces the well-known route is enough to set the wary reader on his guard against a possible over-simplification of extremely complex historical processes. The author himself is aware of the logical difficulty with which this argument may confront him and goes to some pains to explain what he regards as the special circumstances which led to happier results in Sweden, New Zealand, and Britain.

War, Ross believes, can only strengthen reaction; the chance to instal his particular brand of mixed economy will come only with severe depression. Here again his evidence is weak. War brought British labor to power, it enlarged the scope of governmental activity in the United States not only during hostilities but afterward, and recently it has given strong impetus to planning. Many a depression has brought forth suggested panaceas and sporadic disorder, but gains in installing lasting reforms have depended on intellectual preparation, which may yield results at other times as well.

One of the important victories of social control over unrestrained private enterprise, for instance, was the establishment of the Federal Reserve System. The new system resulted not merely from a fight against the money power, which had been going on for decades, but from arduous study of the problem by experts in banking after the panic of 1907. Wilson, whose administration enacted the basic law, was not brought into power or enabled to make this truly radical change by any depression.

Nor is a well-organized political movement on the left necessarily fruitful of social benefit unless its leaders under-

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stand the mechanisms by which they can achieve their basic aims. A glorious victory over intrenched wealth was won when Jackson demolished the Second Bank of the United States, but it was followed by a devastating depression in which scarcity of money and the absence of a centralized and well-managed banking system played a large part. If Jackson's supporters had known what we know, they would of course have kept the bank and made it an instrument for a rational credit policy.

My objection to Ross's book is not that he tries to discuss basic issues but that he does not discuss them with much penetration or profundity. He assumes that what should be done is now known and that all that is necessary is to devise a strategy for putting the right groups in power. I think the most erudite still have a lot to learn about what should be done, and that even political strategy may benefit from a careful and painstaking study of political processes. If a better calculated program had been ready in 1933, and if business men themselves had been better educated in a genuine economic science than they were, the Roosevelt regime might have led us much farther along the road than it did, and without so many false steps.

It is of course something like a law of history that those who do not make good use of their power will eventually lose it. No doubt another severe depression would give a big boost to socialism if it did not lead to fascism or war. But it is certainly not a law of history that those who seize power from an old regime inevitably make better use of it than their predecessors. I am made a little uneasy by prescriptions for seizing—or keeping—power accompanied by the assumption that enough is already known about managing civilization so that all that is necessary is the exercise of power by those who have such knowledge as exists.

In view of all the risks, it seems to me defeatist to be content with the view that in order to make real headway we must await depression, and that even then nothing can be done without a tooth-and-nail struggle against the central powers of capitalism. It may turn out to be so, but surely nothing can be lost by doing our utmost to civilize our order as it goes along—a process which includes heroic and expert study of how it operates, and an attempt to enlighten everybody, including even ourselves and industrial managers, concerning the subject. If there really were definite and reliable criteria by which the masters of industry could tell how their policy decisions might avoid depression, it is just conceivable that they would learn to cooperate in the project. At least, that experiment has never been tried because such criteria have not previously existed, and even now are extremely crude. The gain would be that if the present rulers of business proved recalcitrant, any who fell heir to their power would know how to do better. GEORGE SOULE

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## The "Creative Minority"

*THE HOURS AND THE AGES: A SEQUENCE OF AMERICANS.* By Edward Nicholas. William Sloane Associates. $3.50.

THERE is a relation between the hours of our life and the centuries of time. . .," Emerson wrote. "The hours should be instructed by the ages and the ages by the hours. . . . Each new fact in [an individual's] private experience flashes a light on what great bodies of men have done. . . . Every revolution was first a thought in one man's mind. . . . Every reform was once a private opinion." The focal point of the historical process is the individual life; the essence of history, it follows, is to be distilled from the memorials of the "creative minority," in whose lives the interplay of hour and age has been most significant or typical. Weaving together a series of such portrait sketches, Edward Nicholas undertakes to interpret in the sense of Emerson's insights the great century and a half of American development between the pre-Revolutionary flowering of the planter aristocracy and the triumph of the North in the Civil War.

The result is a very striking group of historical portraits, admirably fresh in conception and finished in execution. Mr. Nicholas catches in a remarkable way the imprint of the social forces —class or institution or movement— that shape and are shaped by his characters' lives, and at the same time conveys all their individual uniqueness as persons. The first of his figures—Betsey Lucas, the mother of Charles and Thomas Pinckney—is a discovery of his own through whose sharply etched personality he reconstructs the life and attitudes of the eighteenth-century planter. At the other end of the time scale, the Fremonts—equally alive and salient as individuals—focus, as types, the emergent nationalism of the mid-nineteenth century: Jessie Benton Fremont, born a Southerner, bred a Westerner, a Northern Abolitionist in conviction, a cosmopolite in taste and manners; her husband a failure in the end as explorer, a failure as empire builder, politician, and financier, yet a visionary forerunner of other men's success in his instructive grasp of the age (a more sympathetic interpretation of the unlucky John Charles than has been the fashion). The author's method indeed, informed as it is by intelligence and finesse, by a feeling for the evocative and the graphic, and by a rare sense of style, yields the richest results for all the figures he treats, famous or obscure. What was there new, one would think, to say of Andrew Jackson or Margaret Fuller? Yet his portraits of them are among his freshest and most compelling —surely no one else has disengaged so

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convincingly the peculiar quality which, in their different worlds, drew their contemporaries to these two tempestuous spirits like iron to magnets.

Emerson's view, of course, has its limitations, and this experiment in history as people does not altogether transcend them. In the expository passages which link together the individual portraits there is sometimes an effect of foreshortening, as if a diorama were being unreeled too fast. As the successive characters take their places upstage in the spotlight, history tends to organize itself not in the higher form of drama but more flatly as scenario or pageant. The "sequence" is perhaps a somewhat artificial form, a hybrid of narrative history and historical biography; the book is more successful in its parts than as a whole. But the main impression we carry away is of Mr. Nicholas's recreation of individuals to the life, and whatever else it is intended to be, "The Hours and the Ages" is an example of the fine art of historical portraiture in the best traditions of the genre. HOWARD DOUGHTY, JR.

## Review in the Form of a Litany

FROM the pronouncement of Edith Sitwell that José García Villa (Volume II, New Directions, $3) is "a poet with a great, even an astounding, and perfectly original gift,"

*I dissent.*

From the verdict of Conrad Aiken that Villa is "the most important new poet in America in a decade,"

*I dissent.*

From the delusion of Mark Van Doren that he "seems to me to possess one of the purest and most natural gifts discoverable anywhere in contemporary poetry,"

*I dissent.*

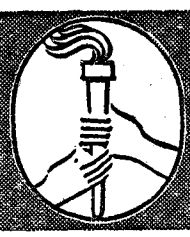
From the encomium of Marianne Moore, "final wisdom encountered in poem after poem,"

*I dissent.*

From the impression of Irwin Edman that "José García Villa seems to me by all odds the most original and genuine poet to have appeared in this country in almost a generation,"

*I dissent.*

From the praise of Louis Untermeyer that "his is undoubtedly the most

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KENTUCKY ON THE MARCH

*by Harry W. Schacter, President, Committee for Kentucky. Foreword by Mark F. Ethridge, Publisher, Louisville "Courier Journal."* ". . . one of the most excellent stories of democracy at work that I have seen on record."—*Eleanor Roosevelt.* "Everybody and his Aunt Esmeralda ought to read it . . . a simple but somehow inspiring saga of how a group of plain Joes decided to make their state a better place in which to live—and then did it."—*Billy Rose,* NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE. $3.00

CONGRESS ON TRIAL
THE POLITICS OF MODERN LAW-MAKING

*by James M. Burns, Assistant Professor of Government, Williams College.* "A lucid and deeply illuminating study of Congress and how it functions; or, more often, fails to function . . . Highly recommended."—NATION. ". . . brilliantly written in understandable terms. Its provocative suggestions are particularly stimulating at this time."—NEWSWEEK. $3.00

DEMOCRACY IN JONESVILLE
A STUDY IN QUALITY AND INEQUALITY

*by W. Lloyd Warner, Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago, and Associates.* This revealing story of what the authors discovered in "Jonesville" is "a portrait of American community life that is downright fascinating . . . No intelligent American can read this book without gaining a fuller understanding of the cross-currents of social feeling that underlie our structure as a nation."—CHICAGO DAILY NEWS. $4.00

WORLD FAITH
THE STORY OF THE RELIGIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS

*by Ruth Cranston.* "Ruth Cranston's presentation of the dominant classic religions, in terms of what is common in their vision of life and their ethics, is a timely and effective contribution. Underneath their differences of language and style, she makes the reader aware of the common meaning man's various religions convey, and the common hope they hold forth." —*Lewis Mumford.* $3.00

STRATEGY FOR LIBERALS
THE POLITICS OF THE MIXED ECONOMY

*by Irwin Ross.* ". . . a valuable book, raising important questions. It represents the kind of adventurous, post-New Deal thinking which the liberal movement in America badly needs." —*Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.,* NEW YORK TIMES BOOK REVIEW. $3.00

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original poetry of the last several years,"

*I dissent.*

From the opinion of Babette Deutsch that "there is not a single poem that lacks the burning signature of the poetic imagination,"

*I dissent.*

From the statement of David Daiches that "José García Villa is a poet,"

*I most totally and absolutely dissent.*

And that José García Villa is the most preposterous *soi-disant* who has inflicted himself on a credulous public since Joan Lowell and Trader Horn

*I solemnly and confidently avow.*

From the works of said José García Villa:

For, the, sake, of, the, Peril,
For, the, sake, of, the, Precipice,
For, the, sake, of, the, View,

For, the, sake, of, the, Seal,
For, the, sake, of, the, Kiss,
For, the, sake, of, the, Screw,

*Enough, enough, is, Love!*

And from the further works of José García Villa, and tributes to same,

*Good Lord, deliver us!*

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

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## Philosophical History

*THE PILGRIMAGE OF WESTERN MAN.* By Stringfellow Barr. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $4.

THE Pilgrimage of Western Man" is another philosophical one-volume history of Western civilization or, more exactly, of Europe; for Mr. Barr's outlook is decidedly Europe-centered. His epochs are the epochs of European history; the terms "Europe" and "Christendom" seem as interchangeable as they were three hundred years ago. If this approach is somewhat old-fashioned, it yet may help to reestablish the right balance at a time when too many American students refuse to be taught the dignity and vitality of the ancient continent and when the term "Eurasia" makes an ominous appearance in our textbooks and newspapers.

Mr. Barr's narrative may be called philosophical because he proceeds with the help of a single idea. The great subject matter of Western history is unity. The approach to history must be pragmatic; from every intelligent narrative of the past some beneficent lessons for the future may be drawn; the story of the pilgrimage of Western man cannot but lead up to a program, and the program is world government. Unfortunately, this idea is not always enough to give unity to an otherwise limitless material. There are pages where the author simply gets lost in the mere facts he has to master and where no reader with historical knowledge can see much point in reading farther. Nor can the reviewer be silent about some broad statements which are embarrassingly platitudinous and of dubious value. What shall we do, for instance, with Mr. Barr's description of the four main ideologies which dispute for the soul of Western man? "These ideologies can be briefly and inaccurately labeled Democracy, Communism, Fascism, and Christianity. They were respectively based on the writings or sayings of John Locke, Karl Marx, Adolf Hitler, and Jesus Christ. Their official living spokesmen appeared to be Truman, Stalin, Franco, and the Pope. . . . Fascism was basically a reaction against Communism."

Yet certain chapters of the book are extremely worth while. There is a beautiful comparison of Wilson and Lenin. There is a closely written and impressive description of Hitlerism—vital at least for those few who still care to be reminded of yesterday's disaster. ("The Nazi 'New Order' was perhaps the most obscene episode in the long history of Christendom. It was obscene, monumentally destructive, and basically empty, and that is why its history is hard to tell.") Mr. Barr also states the difference between Hitlerism and early Bolshevism with precision and courage. "Lenin had made use of pretty much every form of violence that Hitler would use, but for a highly intelligent and universal purpose. . . . Hitler borrowed his means for his own dreamy and adolescent ends."

These are clarifications for which one feels grateful to the author and which no paradox and no joke will ever yield. Does a writer want to help? Or does he merely go after his own amusement, the appeasement of his own despair? This question cannot by itself determine the success of a highly difficult literary enterprise, yet humility, friendliness, the will to help are distinguishing qualities. They constitute, I suppose, the main difference between the utopias of George Orwell and Aldous Huxley. They also raise "The Pilgrimage of Western Man" high above the level of those efficiently organized and utterly uninspiring history texts with which our market is swamped. GOLO MANN

# Books in Brief

*ECONOMIC PLANNING.* By Seymour E. Harris. Alfred A. Knopf. $4.50. This is a book for use, not reading, which embodies summaries of the post-war plans of fourteen nations and early E. C. A. planning, together with analyses and comments by the author. An uninspired and somewhat superficial but competent job.

*GLOBAL MISSION.* By H. H. Arnold. Harper. $5. General Arnold began his flying career in 1911 with the Wright brothers and ended it as commander of the world's largest air force. His brisk informal autobiography gives an unusually readable account of the development of our military aviation and its war-time operations. A useful addition to the inside stories of the war.

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*NO BANNERS, NO BUGLES.* By Edward Ellsberg. Dodd, Mead. $4. The story of the salvage operations in North African harbors after the invasion. Captain Ellsberg is an excellent story-teller, and his adventures on and below the surface make good reading.

*GENIUSES, GODDESSES, AND PEOPLE.* By Winthrop Sargeant. Dutton. $3.50. An ex-violinist and present *Life* correspondent has written a brash and entertaining book on his life as a professional musician, supplementing it with profiles of Toscanini, Beecham, Pinza, Rita Hayworth, and others.

*ADVENTURES IN THE SUPERNORMAL.* By Eileen J. Garrett. Creative Age. $3.50. In this personal memoir the publisher of the magazine *Tomorrow* and head of the Creative Age Press describes her experiences as a trance medium and her decidedly useful discovery that "all that I, or anyone, had to do was to realize and give voice to a deep need, with faith and conviction, and in its own good time and measure the Vital Breath would do the rest."

## Records

*B. H. HAGGIN*

INCREDIBLE nonsense is still being written in England about Sibelius—and in particular about "Tapiola," that patchwork of repetitions of one theme alternating with wind and storm effects, lacking continuity of substance and structure, and in the end carried arbitrarily to a climax, of which Constant Lambert wrote in "Music Ho!" that it gave "clear evidence of a constructive ability and continuity which is unparalleled within the last fifty years," and that in its climax Sibelius "in a sudden moment of intense vision. . .has, like a Newton or an Einstein, revealed the electrifying possibilities that are latent in the apparently commonplace." The occasion for rereading these statements is an RCA Victor recording of the piece by Beecham and the Royal Philharmonic; and I can report that an excellent performance is beautifully reproduced by the 78 r.p.m. records (DM 1311, 2 12").

Another Victor recording gives us Chopin's beautiful Concerto No. 1 played by Brailovsky with an orchestra conducted by William Steinberg. Brailovsky's performance exhibits his usual distortion of phrase in place of the elegance and grace he is incapable of, and his usual insensitive treatment of the piano. It is reproduced by the 78 r.p.m. records (DM-1317, 4 12") with a brilliance that is mellower on the 45s (WDM-1317; 4 7").

The unfamiliar and engaging Fête Polonaise from Chabrier's opera "Le Roi malgré lui" is given what seems to me an excessively energetic and loud performance by Monteux and the San Francisco Symphony, which is reproduced with too heavy bass by the 78 r.p.m. record (12-0978), and with a little less spaciousness and brilliance by the 45 (49-0517).

I have been able to try the Astatic CQ-J cartridge—the one now used in the Columbia LP player attachment—in an Astatic arm with my own motor, and recommend it. The response-curve of the cartridge matches that of the LP recording without equalization; and with my flat-response Brook amplifier it produces a clear, clean, bright sound with correct balance of treble and bass; but I suspect that when it is used with machines that have too heavy bass that bass has to be reduced either with tone-controls or with equalization. If the cartridge is used in the Columbia player attachment one should make sure, when buying the attachment, that the motor is running at the right speed and steadily, and also that the pickup arm doesn't slant (for proper tracking). For use with RCA Victor's 45 r.p.m. records the CQ-J cartridge would need equalization, about which I am making inquiries.

As against the expensive series of concerts by big-name performers that are put on in cities and towns all over the country by the two big monopolizing concert managements working through their Civic Music and Community Concert Associations, there is now—a reader informs me—a series of concerts at movie prices which is arranged and presented on a circuit of small communities in Virginia by their Evening Concert Groups. The series, which receives financial assistance from the Juilliard Foundation and the Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation, offers some artists as familiar as the Albeneri Trio, Alexander Schneider and Ralph Kirkpatrick, and the Juilliard Quartet, and some young pianists, violinists, and cellists who are unknown to me but who may be better than some of the music they play—i. e. the usual Saint-Saëns A minor Cello Concerto or Wieniawski D minor Violin Concerto. The reader who has sent me this information is a resident of Georgetown in Washington, D. C., which is being added to the circuit this year; and those who are interested can obtain information from Miss Betsy Winters, 3060 Sixteenth St., N. W.

## CONTRIBUTORS

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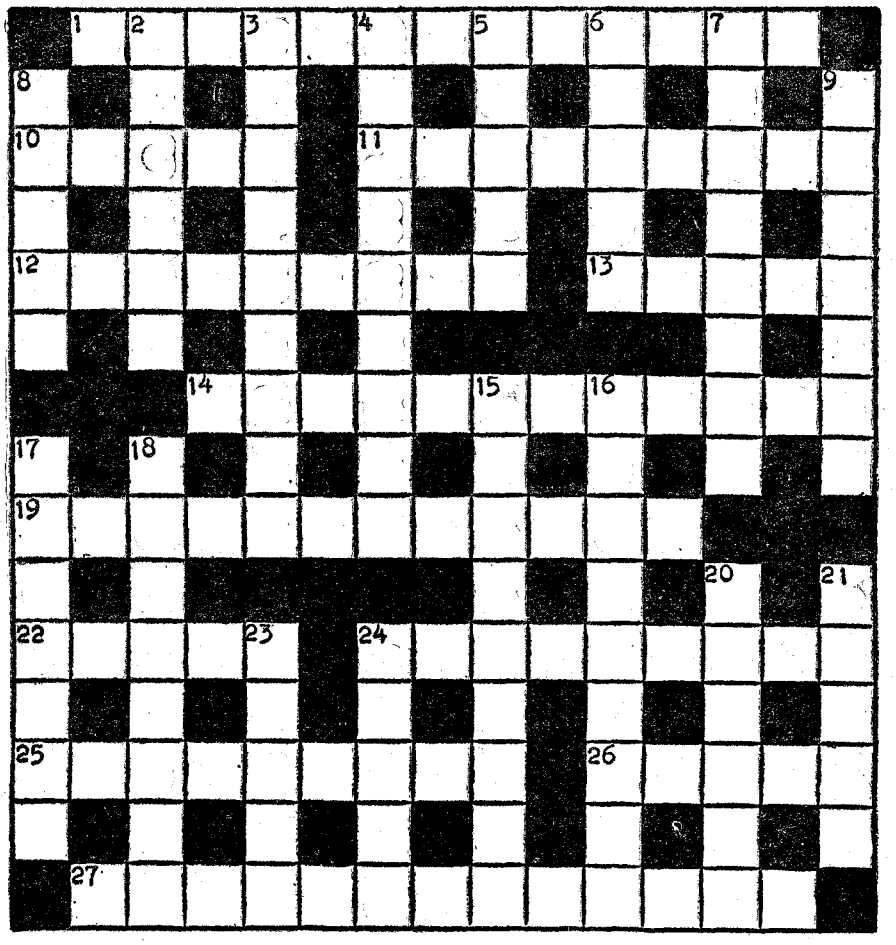
# Crossword Puzzle No. 331

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



## ACROSS

1 Application is one measure of solution. (13)
10 The wrong route leads to the right answer—odd, isn't it? (5)
11 Talesman, perhaps. (9)
12 Swindlers of dark understanding. (9)
13 They need a crew to remove them. (5)
14 One means of raising dough. (6, 6)
19 Better fish-net returns in the school. (12)
22 Found on either side of the trunk. (5)
24 Where to park the ark. . . . (9)
25 . . . . and the ark. (9)
26 Frequently brings back memories when its leaves turn. (5)
27 Vestry pipes? (13)

## DOWN

2 Unrelated by marriage? (6)
3 Keep tabs on the partner or it's all over! (9)
4 Babe makes a run with a single. (9)
5 Pays attention. (5)
6 First-noted restorative. (5)
7 Set aside. (8)
8 Toneless marker. (5)
9 Unnecessary, if you are sure! (7)
15 One of Rabelais' greatest characters. (9)
16 Listened too long, maybe. (9)
17 Artistically cut in the blue. (7)
18 Half way out, perhaps. (8)
20 Winds up on top. (6)
21 Designates provisions. (5)
23 One of the first points raised by military men. (5)
24 Catcallth! (5)

### SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 330

ACROSS:—1 DISTAFFS; 5 BANZAI; 9 ONESELF; 10 DIGGING; 11 SUICIDE; 12 ALLEGES; 13 FLYING MACHINE; 15 MISGOVERNMENT; 21 TABASCO; 22 CRUMPET; 23 ERITREA; 24 ENDMOST; 25 SIEGES; 26 ITERATES.

DOWN:—1 DROPSY; 2 SHERIFF; 3 AMENITY; 4 and 10 FIFTEEN MEN ON A DEAD MAN'S CHEST; 6 ANGELIC; 7 ZWINGLI; 8 INGESTED; 14 SMATTERS; 16 SUBLIME; 17 OBSERVE; 18 ECUADOR; 19 TOPCOAT; 20 STATES.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York

# Letters to the Editors

## Onward and Upward

*Dear Sirs:* Your reviewer, Charles E. Noyes, was most generous in his estimate [*Nation*, September 17] of the basic qualities of "U. S. A.: Measure of a Nation," the new Twentieth Century Fund report which Macmillan has published. As coauthor I am naturally grateful. Mr. Noyes pointed out, however, that the projections of national income for 1950 and 1960 in the book are far too modest, since the actual figure for 1947 had already exceeded the Fund's projection for 1950.

"U. S. A.: Measure of a Nation" was clearly offered as a popular, illustrated summary of the high lights of the Fund's large-scale report, "America's Needs and Resources," by J. Frederic Dewhurst and associates. This study was completed in 1946 and published in 1947. The projections were based on United States government figures as of that time. But in the past two years the government has issued two revisions of the national-income figures on which our projections were based—both of them sharply upward. The Census Bureau statistics on the labor force, which together with the national-income data provided the basis for our projections, were also revised—upward. Finally, the increase of population in general has confounded all the experts and has exceeded even the "most optimistic" set of official estimates used as the basis of our calculations.

These revised figures from official sources have become available piece by piece since the original study was made. In this summary volume it was, of course, impractical to revise the estimates here and there or to refigure the entire complicated structure of projections.

The Fund has already begun a thoroughgoing revision of all the original figures in "America's Needs and Resources" in the light of the new figures. This survey is being carried on under Dr. Dewhurst's direction and will eventually result in a completely new report.

Meanwhile, the panoramic picture of the American economic system in action, as embodied in "U. S. A.: Measure of a Nation," remains valid. If the newer and later figures now make the projections of the future appear too conservative, all Americans can be proud that the future productive power of our eco-

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THOMAS R. CARSKADON

New York, September 23

## A Further Exploration

*Dear Sirs:* In making further explorations in the field of Roman Catholic thought-control, I should like to ask the help of readers of *The Nation*.

I am eager to receive authentic copies of the rules and regulations of various religious orders and seminaries in regard to reading, writing, attendance at theaters, and listening to radio programs. If written regulations are not available, I would like to get carefully authenticated examples of the actual enforcement of thought-control discipline.

Here, for example, are questions to which I would like answers: What radio programs are nuns in Convent X allowed to listen to; what are the penalties for listening to the wrong program; who determines the selections? What newspapers and magazines are the seminarians and young priests in Seminary Y allowed to read; what are the penalties for reading material outside the approved list? What is the penalty for a nun or seminarian who reads my "American Freedom and Catholic Power" without special permission? (The Jesuit magazine *America* has refused to tell me whether American Catholics are permitted to read the book without special permission.) What devices of suppression and distortion are used to misrepresent this book in the seminaries?

I would also like to gather more excerpts from textbooks used in Catholic schools which definitely twist historical, political, or scientific facts; and any vernacular translations of the sexual sections of priestly medical manuals, now circulated in Latin. Naturally, I am also eager to know of any instances in which courageous or independent nuns or priests have successfully, or unsuccessfully, rebelled against the devices of thought-control.

Priests or nuns who help me gather this information will be guaranteed anonymity absolutely, but I cannot accept anonymous information as authentic unless it bears some written indication of authenticity, or unless it is relayed to me through some person in whom I have confidence. Letters should be sent to my Vermont address.

PAUL BLANSHARD

Thetford Center, Vt., September 21


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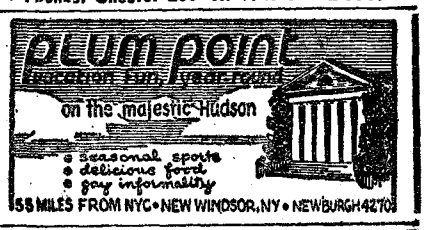


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